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NOTES ON ISLETA, SANTA ANA, AND ACOMA
BY ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS

THE following data were got during a stay at Laguna. On Isleta, my informant was a Laguna man whom I shall call Felipe whose family had moved to Isleta and who had grown up and married there. The all too meager information about Santa Ana was from a Santa Ana man married to a Laguna woman. On my second visit to him he told me that his wife did not want him to talk—she is the daughter of one of the leaders in the ceremonial life of Laguna—and besides “some smart boys,” as he called them, had advised him against talking to me, and, he might have added, frightened him. The refusal was characteristic. Pueblo Indians are quite as much afraid of being talked about as New England villagers or the smart set of a metropolis, and the charge of giving or selling information to a white is grave.—Information about Acoma clans is in part from notes made two years ago during a stay in Acoma. Other data about Acoma were got casually from some visiting Acoma women come to Laguna to trade, and more deliberately from an old Acoma acquaintance living at Acomita. As I had expected, he was more communicative away from Acoma than he had been in Acoma. Besides, he learned that the next day I was leaving the country. Even so, he balked about telling me even the group names of the *cheani* or medicine-men. Information is indeed so difficult to get from Acoma and certain pueblos that when any is obtained, fragmentary though it be, it should be presented, both for what value it may have in itself and because the only way to learn something from the Pueblo Indian, as from the secretive elsewhere, is to know something.

The clans (*daainin*) of Isleta are Day (*tū*), Bear, Lizard, Eagle, Chaparral-Cock, Parrot, Goose, Corn.¹ The first four are accounted

¹ A. F. Bandelier mentions fourteen clans. From the above list he omits Lizard, Chaparral-cock, and Parrot; he gives Sun instead of Day (see below), and he includes,

Summer People, *shuren*, the last four, Winter People, *shifunin*. The clans are matrilineal and exogamous. The moieties are neither exogamous nor endogamous. The moieties, as far as I could learn, are divisions merely for ceremonial purposes.¹ Each has its own estufa or *tu la* (Keresan *k'a'ach*), and its own headman, i.e., *shurekabède* for the Summer People and *shifikabède* for the Winter People.² Each moiety will invite the other to participate in the dance it has in charge, i.e., the Summer People in charge of

besides four corn clans, Deer, Antelope, Water, Elk, Moon, Duck. The first three clans, Deer, Antelope, Water, are found at Laguna and may represent Laguna immigrants. (*Final Report*, Pt. I, *Papers, Archaeological Institute of America* p. 273, American Series, III, 1890.)

¹ Cp. J. P. Harrington, "The Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians," *Twenty-ninth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, (1916), p. 62.

² These divisions, *shure* and *ship-hung*, Bandelier identifies with the *koshare* and *cuirana*. (*Final Report*, Pt. I, pl. 315.)

It seems likely that the summer-winter moiety pattern, however it originated or was applied among the Pueblo Indians, is carried throughout the pueblos in connection with the two groups of "delight makers." In Laguna there are traces of a long-standing feud between the *kurena* and the *kashare*, and indications here as elsewhere, according to Bandelier (*Final Report*, Pt. I, p. 301), that the *kurena*-Winter party was the progressive, and the *kashare*-Summer party, the conservative or anti-American party. References at Laguna to both the *shikani-kurena cheani* (also called *hadjamuni kaiuk*, Broken Prayer-stick) and the Flint *cheani* as being the paramount chief or cacique may point to the two-fold cacique system, although, on the whole, it would appear that the senior Flint *cheani* became the cacique with the *shikani-kurena* as his assistant.

The yellow altar is said to belong to the *kurena*, the blue to the *kashare*, the red to the Flint *cheani*, and the white to the Fire *cheani*.

At Zuñi the moiety pattern is seen in the assignment of two winter months in myth and ceremonialism to the *lewekwe* society. The myth of the separation of the *lewekwe* is in part like that given by Bandelier (*Final Report*, Pt. I, pp. 303-4) to explain the Tewa separation of the Winter and Summer peoples. The moiety pattern may also be seen in the requirement that at the summer rain dances the *koyemshi* must be in attendance. At the winter dances either set of "delight makers," *koyemshi* or *ne'wekwe*, may come out, and the *ne'wekwe* are particularly conspicuous.—By the way, may not *koyemshi* be derived from the Jemez variant for *koshare* (*Final Report*, Pt. I, p. 315), *kuenshare*?

Again at Zuñi the moiety pattern is or was seen in the extinct *lahewe* ceremonial, in the war dances, and in the Saint's dance. In the Saint's dance the six estufas are grouped into two alternating and more or less competing sets. They compete, for example, in furnishing "soldiers" for the Saint. It may not be insignificant that the regular leader of one set is the son of the *kyakweamosi lashi* who is to be equated with the head of the Flint society of the Keresans, i.e., the cacique or, perhaps, Summer cacique. The dancer set meets in the house of the *kyakweamosi lashi*.

the summer dances will invite the Winter People to participate, and *vice versa*.¹

Classification by moiety does not enter into the *tablita* dance (maskless, with headdress of painted boards) which is danced by all together including the Laguna people settled at Isleta.² The *tablita* dance is performed Christmas and New Year's eves inside the church, as is the corresponding dance, the *talawaiye*, at Laguna, and the four succeeding days in the plaza.

At Isleta the image of the *santu* or saint is carried out on a circuit of about five miles through the country on the days of Little San Augustin, June 10, and of Big San Augustin, August 28 (?). The women carry the image as they do at Zuñi when *santu* is taken out to the fields in time of drought. The Isleta trip is made in the morning and in the afternoon, after food offerings for the *santu* are taken to the house of the "war captain" (see below), *tarawai* (*talawaiye*) is danced under the direction of the secular officers (see below) in the plaza where a bower has been made for the *santu*,

According to my informant, there are no masked dances at Isleta, there are no *k'atsina*. The only masks worn are those of the *teen*, equated with the *chapió* of Laguna³ and Acoma, bugaboos the children are told are Mexicans. At Isleta the two *teen* are said to live in Matsena mountain (?); they wear white masks, they do not talk, and they serve as guards against intruders. Because there are no *k'atsina* at Isleta the Indians of the northern pueblos, I was told, call the Isleta Indians Mexicans, and will not admit them as onlookers at their own masked dances. In the Isleta dances the face is whitened and a feather headdress is worn.

¹ Cp. Noël Dumarest, "Notes on Cochiti," *Memoirs, American Anthropological Association*, vol. vi, no. 3, p. 184 n. 6.

² Classification by moiety occurs at Laguna in connection with the dances in which the alternating dance group figures in church feast dances. Among the East side people (*hanityumë*) are grouped the following clans: Sun, Corn, Eagle, Turkey, Water, Turquoise. West side people (*purnityumë*) are: Lizard, Bear, Parrot, Coyote, Chaparral Cock, Oak.

³ The Laguna *chapió* wears long hair and a black faced mask with a white cross on the forehead. A white neck kerchief holds the mask in place. He carries a whip and ropes to bind the children. From his trousers he shakes out peaches and nuts for the children. It seems likely that *chapió* like *atoshle* of Zufñi is derived from *El Aguelo* (*El Abuelo*) of the Mexicans. A. M. Espinosa, ("New-Mexican Spanish Folk-Lore." *JAFL* 29 (1916), pp. 517-18). Cp., "Notes on Cochiti," pl. vii, fig. 2.

With no *k'atsina*, there is of course no *k'atsina* organization; but the rest of the ceremonial organization, with perhaps one highly interesting exception, appears to correspond to the Keresan type of organization. There are two groups of *cheani* or medicine-men (*kaan*)—Flint (*dūai kaan*), in Keresan *hishchean*, and Fire (*biūre kaan*), in Keresan *hakani*; and there are, as among the Keresans, three “war captains,” annually elective officers with ceremonial functions. In summer, in a drought, the war captains will ask the *kaan* to hold a ceremony. Then for four days the people at large may make no smoke out doors.¹ On the third day one group of men will clean up the town and another group will go on a hunt, the spoils to go to the *kaan*.² On the fourth night in the estufa the ceremony is held all night until dawn. The ceremony is open to all (excepting of course whites), even to the Laguna people of Isleta. In that great split of the medicine-men of Laguna a half century ago which led to migration to Isleta the Flint and Fire together with some of the *shahaiye* medicine-men were among the emigrants.³ The Flint and Fire groups from Laguna consolidated with the same groups in Isleta. There is still one *shguyu* (giant) *cheani* (perhaps the *shahaiye* referred to, as the *shguyu* were a division of the *shahaiye*) in Isleta. He goes with the Fire society.⁴

The *kaan* use the two estufas already referred to—the Flint

¹ Cp. E. C. Parsons, “Notes on Zuñi,” Pt. I, *Memoirs American Anthropological Association*, vol. IV, 1917, no. 3, p. 164.

² At Laguna the morning after the communal hunt (*oshach kauutsina goanya*, hunt in honor (?) of Sun) in connection with the summer solstice ceremonial, i.e., the morning before the night of the all-night ceremony I saw the war captain go from house to house collecting the rabbits. The rabbits had been skinned. It is said that they are placed on the altar. The war captain on coming to the door will say to the woman of the house:

chauutawe	hachtse	tyieti'	pedra	tsuna
kill	men	rabbits	jack rabbits	prairie dogs

Formerly there were at Laguna, as there still are at Zuñi, *k'atsina* hunts. The war captain would take a package of tobacco to *k'atsina hocheni* (chief) and invite the *k'atsina* to go on a hunt.

³ E. C. Parsons, “Notes on Acoma and Laguna,” *American Anthropologist*, N.S., vol. XX, (1918), p. 184; “Ceremonialism at Laguna,” *Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History*, vol. XIX, pt. 3, pp. 108–9.

⁴ My informant Felipe had been a Fire *cheani* at Isleta. He himself never mentioned the fact.

society using that of the Day-Bear-Lizard-Eagle moiety, the Fire society that of the Geese-Corn-Chaparral-cock-Parrot-moiety. From this grouping as well as from the moiety clan classification, it occurs to me that my informant may have been twisted in his application of the summer and winter terms. It were consistent with Pueblo Indian classification in general for the Winter People to consist of the Day-Bear-Lizard-Eagle moiety and to be identified with the Flint Society, and for the Summer People to consist of the Geese-Corn-Chaparral-cock-Parrot moiety and to be identified with the Fire Society.

The altars (*geidë*) of the *kaan* seem to be quite like those of Laguna or Zuñi. They are ground altars of designs in meal and sand and of painted boards. With the meal and sand, black, white and yellow, cloud designs are drawn. The wooden frame is about ten feet long and four feet high. Faces and lightning symbols are painted on the boards, but not, as at Zuñi, the animals of the directions, nor are there carved figures of birds. In a space of about two feet behind the altar sit the *kaan*. On the altars stand *iamaparu'*, those most sacred fetichistic cotton-wrapped ears of corn the Keresans call *iyatik'* or *iariko* and the Zuñi, *mi'we*, together with stone figures of lion and bear and the uncarved stones, the Keresans call *samahiye* and the Isleta people, *wadaiyni*. The *wadaiyni* are dressed with feathers and beads, as at Laguna, but instead of the feathers of the *s'giti*, a large hawk, the feathers used are sparrow-hawk.—The fetich stone animal figure carried by hunters is of the wolf (*karnin*).

Besides the special ceremony for rain, the *kaan* regularly officiate at a winter solstice ceremonial and at a summer solstice ceremonial (*ibeweyuwe*, in Keresan *kuashi'wannatia*, "they act as rain clouds"). As part of the solstice ceremonials the *kaan* make prayer-sticks (*towai*) which are called *mapütowai* (*mapü*, ear of corn). Each *mapütowai* is accompanied by a crook stick similar to what at Laguna is called *hadjamuni kaiuk* (prayer-stick broken) and at Zuñi, the prayer-stick of the *pekwín* or sun priest.¹ These

¹ Details of feathers and pigments I reserve for a general account of prayer-sticks.

towai are planted in the cornfields by the *kaan*. They are completely buried. They must incline or point towards the town.

Laymen do not make prayer-sticks. But feathered strings, *nashie'* (*wapanyi* in Keresan), are made by the clan heads. The clan heads make *nashie'* for a deceased clansman or woman, and on the fourth day after death they take out the *nashie'* together with food and deposit all in the river bank or under a fruit tree, a peach or apple tree.

The clan heads go into a retreat of continence and fasting for rain after the summer solstice. The Day clan is the first to withdraw. According to Felipe, the same system of ceremonial clan heads (four of them, all men, selected on a vacancy through death by the assembled clan, men and women, on the eve of solstice ceremonials) used to prevail at Laguna.¹ Beginning with the heads of the Sun clan (equated with the Day clan of Isleta—"the only difference is that we (of Laguna) say it out," i.e., directly) all the clan heads (*hano nawaai*) went successively into a rain retreat of four days when they made prayer-sticks with the assistance of any clan members who volunteered. Some system of clan headship there undoubtedly was and in a measure still is in Laguna; but the account of this highly ceremonialized system, so strikingly like the Zuñi *ashiwanni* system, I was unable to verify from other informants and as the evidence goes I must hold that Felipe was reading the Tanoan system into Keresan custom.

As at Zuñi and at Sia, Cochiti, and Laguna there is at Isleta a ceremonial (*daikwan*)—here in March or April—for synchronous cures, an exorcising ceremonial to cure or clean the ground² of witch-sent worms or grasshoppers, and all sick persons of witch-caused disease (*lūapū*, clean, person). For four days, beginning at night,³ the *kaan* go into retreat. On the fourth day, about nine

¹ They had no altars and no *iyatik'* proper; but they kept in a basket the completely kernelled ears of corn (*kotona*) of which the *iyatik'* is made. The clan heads would send out to notify clansmen to bring to them all the *kotona* found in their harvest. The clan heads kept fetish animals (*shohuna*), also terraced medicine-bowls (*waitichaini*). Clan heads assisted the *cheani* at the winter solstice ceremonial to cut feather-sticks for the Sun and for property.

² Zuñi, *awek shuwaha*, ground, clean.

³ Cf. "Notes on Zuñi," Pt. I, p. 52; M. C. Stevenson, "The Sia," p. 74.

in the morning, from each set of *kaan* they go out, two by two, to each of the four directions, and with each set goes a "war captain." The *kaan* carry with them corn pollen which they sprinkle in the fields and the prayer-sticks known at Laguna as *chasumi* and used there by the war captains, a befeathered reed to which are attached netted shield, and miniature bow, arrow and club—the war god offerings. These things are buried in the fields. About four in the afternoon the *kaan* return, and that night they cure the people.

To each *estufa*¹ there are two rooms, an outer room and an inner. The people remain in the outer room together with the food which they have prepared according to their moiety, while in the inner room the *kaan* sing four or six songs. Then the war captain brings into the inner room those who are to be treated. The patients sit together, the *kaan* in the middle of the room. On this occasion the *kaan* will visit, one group the other, six *kaan* going from the Flint Society to visit the Fire Society and *vice versa*. In curing the *kaan* will look into a bowl of water on the surface of which "powder" is spread, in order to see into the machinations of the witches, senders, as always, of disease. The disease-causing things the witches have sent into the body the *kaan* take out with their eagle wing feathers—a familiar Pueblo Indian curing rite—and from the feathers are seen to drop into the *ollas* pebbles, bits of cloth, etc.,² and cactus points.³ This curing or exorcising motion (*tuali*; Keresan, *kukats*)⁴ is a motion of sweeping in, "like catching a fly," and then shaking down, shaking the things caught from the feathers to the *olla*.⁵

Besides the clan heads and the *kaan* there is at Isleta the warrior organization which existed among the Keresans as *u'pi'* and still

Eleventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology; "Notes on Cochiti," pp. 204-5. At Laguna, at the all-night solstice ceremonials every one present is given a drink of medicine.

¹The *tula* are referred to on this occasion, I think, but the *kaan* have their own ceremonial rooms.

²An identical rite of the Ant or Flint society of Zuñi.

³My informant insisted that these objects had been sent not into the body but into the clothes of the victim, next the skin, and "like germs" caused disease. Truly the Pueblo Indian is unsurpassable as a pourer of new wine into old bottles!

⁴*Tsyukats*, he has been cleaned; *tsaauakashana*, cleansing or "treatment."

⁵Cp. "Notes on Cochiti," p. 156.

exists at Zuñi in the so-called bow-priesthood or *apiłashiwanni*. Of these lifelong representatives of the war gods there are at Isleta about eight or nine. Nowadays these *kümpawi'lawen* are recruited through sickness. A sick man will think of becoming a *kümpawi'-lawen*, if he recover, and he will make known his plan or, so to speak, vow, to his family. Relatives are summoned to talk it over and give consent. The invalid's father will go to the house of the *kümpawi'lawen* and present his son. The head of the *kümpawi'-lawen* waits one day, and then calls together the members to tell them "he has received a new child."¹ Thereafter they will all pray for the invalid in their heart, wherever they may be, that is there is no ceremonial. If the invalid recovers, they hold an initiating dance. If he dies, they will be in attendance at the house and at the grave; so that people will know that the deceased belongs to the *kümpawi'lawen*.

The *kümpawi'lawen* assist at the *daikwan* ceremonial. Their own special ceremonial they hold in April in connection with the footraces. On the first and second Sundays the races are secular, on the third Sunday they are for the *kümpawi'lawen*. Until about four in the afternoon the *kümpawi'lawen* and volunteers dance, *tiúavárá* the dance is called. The *kümpawi'lawen* are dressed in buckskin, carrying bows and arrows, with bandoliers crossed over their shirts, making the familiar war god design. There are two lines of male dancers, and women take part. After the afternoon race, the dance is renewed to continue all night.

The race is of the relay, queue or *chongo* catching type, made familiar by Lummis' lively description.² The winner's father takes a package of native grown tobacco to the estufa. The head *kümpawi'lawen* comes up and receives it and prays. Other *kümpawi'lawen* stand on the ladder to receive and pass down the presents of food and goods brought by the kinswomen of the winner.

¹ The phrase is current at Zuñi. Besides, when a society member happens to find anyone unconscious and restores him he may say, "I have found a child" and have him initiated into his society.

At Laguna the warrior who made a *coup* on a Navajo went into retreat for twelve days and chose a "brother" from the *u'pi'* with whom to exchange presents.

² *The Land of Poco Tiempo*, Chap. v. New York, 1897.

Two *kümpawi'lawen* stand by the presents and after praying for a half hour or so take a bit of each kind of food from each basket, wrap the bits in wafer bread, and leave the roll at the foot of the ladder for the supernaturals. The defeated runner has to be "paid" with the presents made by the victor's circle of relatives and friends. Excepted are five baskets, of which one goes to the head *kümpawi'lawen*, one to his second, one to the war captains, one to the Flint Society and one to the Fire Society.

None of the races is run by moiety or by clan. On the fourth Sunday may be run a race between the married and unmarried men.

The secular officers of Isleta are *tabude* (governor; *tapup'*, Keresan and Zuñi), two *tinyentin* (lieutenant governors) and two *kaveun* (fiscals).

Santa Ana clans are: Dove (*hooaka*) or Snake which is the most numerous clan, Mouse, Coyote, Lizard, Bear, and Turkey which is the second clan in numbers, White Shell or Turquoise (Keresan, *yashje*, Mexican, *chucheta*)¹ Eagle, Corn, Water, Turquoise, Parrot, Fire (only two survivors), Ant. Sun, and Oak are extinct clans. As far as my informant knows, there never were Antelope or Chaparral Cock clans, clans found at Laguna, or a Tansy Mustard (*ise*) clan, a clan of Acoma, Zuñi, and of the Hopi. There is one Badger clansman, his mother from Zuñi.² In the *santu* dance where, as usual, the pattern of alternating groups is followed, clan moieties appear. In one moiety are Dove, Mouse, Coyote, Lizard, Bear; in the other, Turkey, White Shell, Eagle, Corn, Water, Turquoise, Parrot, Fire. The Ant clan groups with either moiety.³ Whether or not the moieties figure in other connections I did not learn. There are no clan heads or *hano nawai*, according to my

¹ The ambiguity here comes from the fact that the terms given by my informant for this clan refer to different things—*hasje'* means white-pink shell, and *chucheta* means turquoise. *Chucheta* or, as Bandelier gives it, *chalchihuite*, is, according to Bandelier, a Nahuatl word. (*Final Report*, Pt. I, pp. 262-3.)

² All the Badgers of Laguna I know or have heard of are of Zuñi descent.

³ In accordance with the Zuñi notion that ants are to be associated with all the directions. F. H. Cushing, "Zuñi Fetishes," *Second Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology* (1880-1), p. 16; M. C. Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 409.

informant; but understanding of the meaning of this term is hard to come at, so that unless the enquiry is followed up in particulars of personnel and of function, categorical statements remain uncertain.

The *cheani* groups are: Flint, Fire, Eagle, *shiwanna*, and two sets of *shika*.¹ There are no *saiyap* (*shumaekoli*) or *shahaiye* Giant *cheani*. The Flint *cheani* have to manage the *kushaili* (*kashare*)² and each set of *shika cheani* has *kurena*.³ As at Laguna, to become a *shiwanna cheani* you must have experienced lightning-shock. My informant denied that the Eagle *cheani* were thought of, as at Jemez,⁴ as eagle hunters or trappers. Their functions are the same as the functions of the other *cheani*—curing and weather control. As at Laguna⁵ and Acoma, there are *she'ek* or hunting

¹ Stevenson gives *shike*, for star, an extinct Star clan. ("The Sia," p. 19.) This may be the meaning of the *shika cheani* of Santa Ana and the *shikani* of Cochiti and Laguna. The *shikani-kurena* of Laguna called upon the stars in his solstice chant and had a right to the use of the cosmic symbols, sun, moon, and stars. ("Ceremonialism at Laguna," p. 108 n. 1.)

In this connection I may note that Stevenson for some obscure reason calls the *ne'wekwe* of Zuñi, the Galaxy fraternity. The *ne'wekwe* are the homologues of the Keresan *koshare* or *kurena*.

I also note that the *tzi-hui* medicine-man of the Tewa, corresponding, according to A. F. Bandelier, to the *shikani* (*shikama*) of the Keresans, has charge of the war god or star god fetishes, the name of one, *tzi-o-veno ojua* (Keresan, *shiwanna*) suggesting *chakwena*, the masked war group of *shiwanna* or *k'atsina* associated in ritual with the *shikani cheani* of Laguna. (*Final Report*, Pt. I, pp. 305, 308-9.)

² In this connection compare the association of the Flint *cheani* and Summer people (the *koshare* being elsewhere identified with Summer people) at Isleta. There are suggestions of a sometime association between Flint *cheani* and *kashare* at Laguna.

³ At Laguna and Cochiti the weather controlling, non-curing division of the *shikani* (*shikarne*) are *kurena* (*quirana*).

⁴ "Notes on Cochiti," pp. 193-4. According to Felipe, eagle trapping by fastening a live rabbit in a pit is Najaho, and the Eagle *cheani* are derived from the Navajo.

⁵ The *she'ek* (*shaiyaik*) knows the proper hunting songs, songs which make it easy to kill deer and rabbits, and how to make the hunter's feather-sticks. Four days before going on his hunt the hunter takes to the *she'ek* to set on his altar some micaceous hematite (*wakür*), representing the foot of the deer, red beads, (*yashjamutse wishtgürin*), representing the red flesh of the deer, flint (*hish*) representing the white on his neck and chest, and some turquoise (*shuimi*) or, if the quarry is an antelope, some white-pink shell (*yashja*) to represent the heart. Subsequently this shell mixture is taken on the hunt and deposited in the tracks of the quarry, at the frontal tip of the track. The feather-sticks are deposited in the lairs of the animals After the kill the head of the animal is pointed in the direction of the hunter's home. If the animal is still alive when caught, the muzzle is tied up close. (See Ceremonialism at Laguna p. 127.)

cheani. The sequence of retreats for rain (*kuashiwanatyia*) after the summer solstice ceremonial is: Flint, *shiwanna*, Eagle, *shika*, *shika*.

The *kasik*¹ or *tiamoni* does not have to be a *cheani*; but he is chosen by the *cheani*, by all the *cheani*. Formerly the *tiamoni* had an assistant or second,² nowadays he has none. He does not have to be chosen from any particular clan. As at Cochiti and Acoma and in modified form at Zuñi, the *tiamoni* selects the governor and all the annual officers—the *tapup*, one *tinienti*, two *piskales*, two *mayo roma* or ditch officers,³ six *capitanes* to call meetings for the governor and to serve also for the ditch officers, and two *tsiyad-yuye'*, leaders (?), the first representing *maasewi*, the second or *tinienti*, *uyoyewi* together with their six officers who are called *tsamahiye*.⁴

Killers of Navajo are called *u'pi'*—as at Laguna—the killer of one Navajo, *u'pi' hocheni*, the killer of four Navajo, *naya⁵ hocheni* (mother, head). Killers of the prey animals, lion, bear, wolf, and of eagles are also called *u'pi'*; but in some unexplained way their organization is thought of as a little different from that of the Navajo killers. On showing the skin of their trophy to the⁶

She'ek or *shaifyak* and *shaikatsi* appear to be the names of the two heads of the group. Men became *she'ek* from being cured of sickness, any sickness. There is but one surviving *she'ek*; he lives at Parahi. His father was *she'ek* and in his father's day there five practicing *she'ek*. Then the *she'ek* held a dance in December—a dance *oshash kotsinia'* (Sun, for the sake of). The *she'ek k'a'ach* or meeting place was at the west end of *kakati*. The *she'ek* would call out the summons to the communal hunts saying: *Yunadish yunaponishaudyau yunakwichadyau yunahanichadyau hachtse shuichi dyanat-sashku dyiech pecha*. North, West, South, East, going to hunt, old man, young man, in four days, rabbits, jackrabbits. Before starting on the hunt the *she'ek* built a little fire so that the rabbits would not know where they (the rabbits) were going. A hunter might promise to himself to give meat from his hunt to the *she'ek*. The group is to be equated, no doubt, with the *tsaniakwe* of Zufii.

¹ My informant asserted that the word was not "Mexican," but Indian.

² Cp. "The Sia," p. 16.

³ Six ditch officers (*gwachani*, officer, *kopachawilse*, ditch) are elected at Laguna, elected in September, whereas the governor (*tapup*) his two lieutenants (*tyinyiintyi*), the two or, according to some, three fiscals (*fiskale*, *pishkali*, *piskare*) and the three "war captains" are elected on January 1.

⁴ The same term, I believe, as that for the stone fetishes and we may infer that these are or were thought of as war god images.

⁵ Cp. "Notes on Cochiti," p. 199.

⁶ Cp. "Notes on Cochiti," p. 199.

tsiyadyuyue', they would become *u'pi'*. As at Zuñi the skulls of the animals are deposited in a cave.

Including one *u'pi' k'a'ach* or *chiva* (Sp. *kiva*) there are five *k'a'ach*. They are associated with the *cheani*—*cheani k'a'ach*.

As well as I could make out the *k'atsina* or masked impersonations are likewise associated with the *cheani*. And impersonators were referred to as at Laguna as *k'atsina cheani*. The *k'atsina* function for rain, crops, and animals, and for the sick. The association of the *k'atsina* with the Antelope and Badger clans, a prominent association at Zuñi and Laguna, does not appear. These clans are not found at Santa Ana. The *cheani* and “*maasewi*” and “*uyoyewi*,” are leaders for the *k'atsina*, and “*maasewi*” officers, the *tsamahiye*, their guards.

The clans of Acoma are: Antelope, Sun, Corn divided into Yellow Corn and Red Corn, Bear, Oak, Parrot, Chaparral Cock, Eagle, Turkey, Pumpkin (*tani*), Mustard (*ise*)¹ Snake,² Sky or Water. Extinct clans are Lizard³ and Red Ant.⁴

¹ *Sophia halictorum* Cockerell, Mustard Family. Seed corn is “washed” or more probably sprinkled in a decoction of this plant to make it grow quickly. For a like practice with sage brush compare Stevenson, M. C. “Ethnobotany of the Zuñi Indians,” *Thirtieth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, (1915), pp. 87–8,

This clan is the *aiyahokwe* of Zuñi (“Ethnobotany of the Zuñi Indians,” p. 86) and the *asa* of Hopi. *Aiyahokwe* and *asa* have been called Tansy-Mustard. An Acoma acquaintance supplied me with the specimen which was subsequently identified in the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture. Meanwhile I showed it to a Laguna acquaintance. *Shuma wawa* (dead, medicine) he called it. People drink a decoction of it to make them forget the dead. “Like *ise*, little different,” he added. “I note that at Zuñi there is a mustard which is boiled and drunk by the *ne'wekwe* ‘to loosen their tongues that they may talk like fools and drunken men.’” (“Ethnobotany of the Zuñi Indians,” p. 91). This plant, I infer, is the *shuma wawa* of Laguna. I may say that *ise* was once described to me at Acoma as poisonous. I infer that the Laguna man mistook the piece of *ise* which I showed him for the other variety of mustard and I conclude that there are two varieties of mustard one of which the clan (*ise*, *aiyahokwe*, *asa*) is named after, and the other of which is used ritually in connection with the dead or by the foolhardy *ne'wekwe*.—We touch here upon an interesting although still obscure ceremonial complex. The *asa*, according to Fewkes a Tanoan clan that migrated to Laguna and thence to Zuñi and thence to Hopi, are identified with the *chakwena*. (“The Winter Solstice Ceremony at Walpi,” *American Anthropologist*, vol. XI (1898), pp. 71–2). Now the *chakwena*, a war god cult at Laguna and Zuñi, are connected ceremonially with the *shikani-kurena* of Laguna who are to be equated with the *shiwannakwe* and *ne'wekwe* of Zuñi, organizations whose ritual may be seen to be associated with the dead and with war.

² Only one clansman left.

³ Identified by one informant with Snake.

⁴ Bandelier mentions seventeen clans including four corn clans, and one name

There is no division or alignment of the clans. In the *santu* dance and in the dance which I saw at Acoma,¹ the *hoinarwe*, the two groups dance from the east and west estufas according to membership in the estufa,² and this membership is unrelated to clan membership.

The cacique or *kazik'* I met two years ago has since died. He was an Antelope clansman, and Johnson, my Acoma interpreter, was insistent that the cacique was always chosen from the Antelope clan and that this clan, *i.e.*, "the brothers and uncles" of the cacique had autocratic functions.³ According to Johnson, his own father had been *kazik'* and he was succeeded by an uncle, his father's brother. Now the new cacique is Eagle, according to several Acoma women I met and according to Johnson himself when he began to tell me of the change in office. Later in the talk he said that the new *kazik'* (Francisco Wachampin) was Antelope (not a close relative of the deceased *kazik'*), it was his wife who was Eagle. A *kazik'* always takes his wife to live in the Antelope clan house appropriated to the *kazik'*. The contradiction is puzzling and, although I incline to think that Johnson was misstating in order to give prestige to the clan of which he was a child, more data are necessary. The history of the undoubtedly ceremonial position of the Antelope clan (and Badger clan) at Acoma as well as at Laguna and Zuñi is still obscure.

The *kazik'* watches the Sun. Unbroken continence is required of him. He does not have to be a *cheani*—in fact it is likely that he would not be one. He has no assistant or lieutenant. Together with the *tsatio hocheni* or "war captains" he looks after the *k'atsina* or masked impersonations.

not given. Clans not given in my list are Piñon-Eater, and Ivy (probably *ise* or Mustard. This plant was once called Ivy to me). Clans given in the above list and not by Bandelier are Oak, Sky, Mustard and, extinct, Red Ant and Lizard. (*Final Report*, Pt. I, p. 273. *Papers, Archaeological Institute of America*, Amer. Ser. III.)

Hodge mentions fourteen existing clans and six extinct clans. The extinct clans are Blue Corn, Brown Corn, White Corn, Fire, Buffalo and Ant. Of the clans in my list he omits Mustard and he does not identify Water with Sky. ("Pueblo Indian Clans," pl. VII, *American Anthropologist*, vol. IX (1896)).

¹ See "Notes on Acoma and Laguna," pp. 162-171.

² This is the Zuñi system when the pattern of alternating dance groups is followed.

³ See "The Antelope Clan in Keresan Custom and Myth," *Man*, vol. xvii (1917). pp. 192-3.

The *tsatio hocheni* is also, as might be expected, in charge of the communal hunts,¹ building the preliminary fire. There are also hunting officials, *shaiyaik*, who know hunting songs and how to make hunt prayer-sticks. My informant did not consider them to be *cheani*. Formerly there were the *u'pi'*, the scalp-taking warrior organization, but now "they are all gone."

About the *k'atsina*, my informant was almost as reticent as about the *cheani*. Women are never made *k'atsina*. The age of "making new *k'atsina*," i.e., of initiation appears to be later than I once heard²—it is seventeen or eighteen or even later. As I mentioned the different sets of *k'atsina* figuring at Laguna—it was acknowledged that they figured also at Acoma—*gopeuts* (or *hematatsi*, Zuñi *kokokshi* or *upikaiupona*), *waiyush* (Duck, Zuñi *muluktakya*), *kaiya* (Mixed. Zuñi, *wotemla*), *hemish* (Zuñi, *hemushikwe*).³ The existence of *gumeyoish* (Zuñi *koyemshi*, the masked clowns) and of *shonata*⁴ who corresponds to *shulawitsi*⁵ of Zuñi was also admitted. *Chapio'*, being a maskless Mexican⁶ figure, was mentioned more freely. He rides a horse, a real horse, not a mock pony as at San Domingo.

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¹"Notes on Acoma and Laguna," p. 173.

²"Notes on Acoma and Laguna," p. 174 n. 1.

³The *chakwena* I overlooked.

⁴The impersonator is always a Corn clansman. *Shonata* "belongs to the Corn clan." The same man habitually impersonates. When he dies or were he sick or absent another Corn clansman volunteers.

⁵Formerly at Laguna there was another mask, *shuraidja*, that seemed, in name at least, to correspond even more closely.

⁶At Laguna I have heard a mother threaten a boy under two with *chapio'*.